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SLAVE-HOLDERS CONVENTION.

WE omit all other matter for our present number, in order to be able, not only to insert all the acts or resolutions passed at the Slave-holders Convention, but to give place to a full report of the remarks of the members upon the various points mooted, as furnished by the able Reporter of the Baltimore Sun.

It is not our design to make any remarks upon the debates or doings of the Convention, the whole is laid before our readers, and of the wisdom, and expediency of the course pursued, each one must judge for himself.

One remark, however, we will make, and that rather in connection with our own cause, than with reference to the Convention, which is: Were it not for the labours of the colonization society—were it not for the preparations made for the reception of the free coloured man in Africa—were it not that a home had been prepared for him, where he could enjoy privileges and blessings that no other land could offer; we believe that if the propositions recommended to the Legislature by the Convention, should ever become the laws of the land, they would, from their very nature, be null and impracticable. We would also take occasion to ask of our colonization friends, who in the Convention of June last, opposed the passage of the 3d resolution, and also the coloured people, who thought it so *grievous* and *oppressive* to be warned of wrath to come, whether events, since transpired, have not more than confirmed our predictions? Look at the riots at Cincinnati—look at the strong indication of a change of feeling in the people of the north—at the breaking up of attempted abolition meetings in almost every state in New England—at the expulsion of the coloured *claimants* to seats in the northern rail roads and places of worship—look at the doings of this Convention, composed of men of the highest standing for respectability and talents in Maryland; and then say, was the warning premature? was it not kindly given? and again, has it been kindly or thankfully received?

(From the Baltimore Sun.)

ANNAPOLIS, *January 12th, 1842.*

The Convention re-assembled this afternoon, at four o'clock, in the House of Delegates, ex-Gov. Howard in the Chair. The committee appointed to nominate officers, nominated Robert W. Bowie, as President; Benj. C. Howard, Gen'l Thomas Emory, and Doctor Williams, Vice-Presi-

dents; and George W. Sherwood, and — Carter, Secretaries. The Convention concurred therein.

Mr. Bowie was conducted to the chair by ex-Gov. Howard, and made a few remarks, thanking the Convention for the honour they unexpectedly conferred, and at the same time frankly stating that he was not himself fully aware of the object which the members of that Convention had in view.

The Secretary then proceeded to call over the several counties, and the cities of Annapolis and Baltimore, when it appeared that each was represented, excepting the counties of Carroll, Alleghany, and Caroline.

Gov. Howard then proceeded to make some remarks, slightly elucidating the objects of the Convention, and concluded by moving that a committee be appointed by the Chair, consisting of one from each delegation, who should deliberate among themselves, and prepare matter for the consideration of the Convention. The motion was adopted.

Judge Chambers next occupied the attention of the Convention. 'He would not desire to detain the Convention from the consideration of the important matters which awaited their action; but as it was evident that some little time must elapse before the committee thus to be appointed could get to work, he did not think that their time could be better employed than in a calm and dispassionate view of the circumstances which had called them together. The subject on which they had assembled, was one of extreme delicacy; it was evident, that of the two classes composing the free population of this State, the free coloured people had certainly increased very rapidly within a few years past; and that if any decisive action was to be had for the purpose of removing them without difficulty, now was the time, whilst the preponderance of physical strength was still our own, and we had the ability to enforce any legislative action on the subject; yet at the same time, he would beg of every gentleman to approach the matter calmly, and with a firm determination of viewing the measures originating with others, as the result of the same integrity which would actuate the proposition of means proposed by himself; it was evident that measures might be proposed, and be considered by gentlemen proposing them as mild and moderate, which might be thought by others as harsh in the extreme. Again, he doubted not that there were gentlemen present who would prefer a medium course, and to their views he most urgently requested the attention of the Convention.

'Never mind what might be the result of their deliberations or recommendations in regard to the free coloured population, one thing was certain, that they could as slave-holders at any rate, adopt some regular system of discipline, and agree among themselves as to the regulation of their property, so as to make them more valuable and to lessen the influence of the free negroes with them; but even this he almost despaired of being able to effect, as long as the miserable grog-shops which had caused the greatest evil to the negro race, were permitted to exist. The State had for a number of years made appropriations for the laudable purpose of promoting the emigration of the free coloured people; but it had evidently failed of the contemplated purpose, inasmuch as that class of persons so far from diminishing has actually increased.

'The coloured population now were vastly unlike what it had been in years past when there were no free coloured persons; there had been instances of the strongest devotion and most sincere affection, of a devotion amounting to a sacrifice of life on the part of the slave, for the welfare of the master; these had been matters of history in this State,' &c.

Col. Wm. T. Wooten, of Prince George's county, presented a preamble

for the consideration of the Convention 'looking to the speedy colonization of the free negroes in Africa.'

Judge Chambers requested his friend from Prince George's to withdraw his proposition, as he felt satisfied that it could, at that time, effect no good purpose, and had probably been offered hastily and without reflection.

Col. Wootten assured his learned friend over the way that whatever might have been his course of action heretofore, the time had passed when he acted either hastily or without reflection; that in the proposition which he had offered, he was actuated rather by philanthropy than his interests as a slave-holder. He advanced it as a settled political maxim, that where two races of people existed in the same country, differing to such an extent that they could never be blended and become one race, separation must take place. This was the case here; and it was as a philanthropist and in mercy to the weaker party that he urged the consideration of his preamble.

Judge Chambers hoped that the proposition would be withdrawn, as it was evident, that the sense of the people in general at this time was favourable to the adoption of measures which would tend to lead the free negroes from this to some other place where they might enjoy greater privileges; 'but,' said the Judge, 'adopt harsh measures, and you create a re-action of public feeling, and all the good effects which might grow out of this Convention are at once annulled.'

John Glenn, Esq., of Baltimore city, made a few remarks, when Col. Wootten withdrew his proposition.

C. H. Pitts, Esq., hoped that the gentleman from Prince George's would renew his proposition; he thought it right and proper that it should be before the Convention, and at the disposition of the committee to be appointed.

The President announced the committee, when the Convention adjourned to meet to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock, in the Court-house.

ANNAPOLIS, *January 13, 1842.*

The slave-holders Convention met this morning at 10 o'clock, in the Court-house, and the committee yesterday appointed, consisting of Judge Chambers, chairman, of Kent county; John M. S. Causin, St. Mary's; Benj. E. Gantt, Anne Arundel; John Parran, Calvert; William Jenkins, Baltimore county; Wm. S. Ridgway, Talbot; James S. Cottman, Somerset; Dr. Joseph Nichols, Dorchester; not represented, Cecil; Wm. S. Wootten, Prince George's; Thomas Emory, Queen Anne's; Jos. M. Palmer, Frederick; James Nelson, Harford; not represented, Caroline; do. Worcester; do. Washington; Wm. S. Gaither, Montgomery; not represented, Allegany; do. Carroll; John Glenn, Baltimore city; Thos. S. Alexander, Annapolis; Benjamin C. Howard, Howard district; reported that they had had the business of the Convention under consideration, and had agreed in many particulars, but would not be prepared to report fully until this afternoon.

The President and Vice-Presidents are also members of the committee.

The Convention then adjourned until this afternoon at 4 o'clock.

I have just seen a member of the committee, and am informed that they have got through with their labours, and will be prepared to report this afternoon.

ANNAPOLIS, *January 13, 1842.*

The Convention assembled at 4 o'clock this afternoon in the hall of the House of Delegates. The President took the chair, and called the Convention to order.

It was moved and carried that all persons not members of the Convention should leave the floor of the house and retire to the lobby.

It was also moved and carried *unanimously*, that any person or persons

desiring to report the proceedings of the Convention for publication in any newspaper, should be assigned a seat on the floor suitable for the purpose, if his veracity could be vouched for by any gentleman a member of the Convention.

Three reporters immediately presented themselves, and were accommodated with seats, for the purpose of reporting for the Maryland Republican, published in Annapolis, and for the Sun and American, published in Baltimore.

The committee proceeded to make their report; and the resolutions being read, Judge Chambers was proceeding to make some remarks in relation to the resolutions which had been read, when Mr. Causin arose and stated to the Convention that he had been informed that there had been in the house an unknown person who had in the first instance taken a seat on the floor, as if for the purpose of reporting the proceedings. When the proposition was made to admit reporters on the floor known to the members of the Convention, this person had left the house and proceeded to the gallery; he had been turned out of the gallery, and was (according to his information,) at that moment in the committee-room, prepared to take notes. He mentioned this matter to the Convention, that they might take such steps as they would deem necessary.

Mr. Alexander, from Annapolis, thought it would be as well for the chair to appoint two or more persons to call on the individual alluded to, and ascertain from him his purpose in acting as he did, and to know of him if he desired to report the proceedings of the Convention, and if so, to appear in the Convention and state his object.

Carroll Spence, Esq., of Baltimore, thought that it would be doing the individual alluded to, too much honour by sending any delegation to wait on a person who had acted as this individual had.

Mr. Tilghman was of opinion that it was best to enquire if there were any abolitionists in the house.

Mr Pitts thought that the best course which could be pursued would be to take no notice whatever of the individual who had been already alluded to.

Mr. Causin thought it due to the man himself, that justice might be done him, abolitionist or not. Within this hall gentlemen were certainly at liberty to express their views in regard to the domestic institutions of the State.

Gov. Howard arose to propose that all proceedings on this subject be suspended.

Judge Chambers hoped the gentleman would withdraw his motion. The most effectual way of silencing traduction would be to make known to the world the proceedings of the Convention. He wished every proceeding of that body to be public and plain as the noon-day.

Mr. Palmer did not think that so much should be made of this matter. He was for admitting the Reporter on the floor.

Mr. Duckett had often desired to see an abolitionist, and for that purpose had left the house and gone into the yard bare-headed, but before he got there he had evaporated. He had since been informed that he was a Reporter for the Massachusetts Spy and the Emancipator.

Here the Convention understood that the person who had caused the delay in the proceedings of that body, had been committed to jail by justice Huster, for a further examination, and before I dismiss this matter, would state, that I have been informed that the letters and papers found with him appear to be of an abolition and incendiary character, and the probability is that if another is caught here in the same predicament, he will be likely to fare worse. His having been lodged in jail most probably saved him from the exasperation of the moment, which might have resulted in the enactment of lynch-law. They then proceeded with business.

Resolved, 1st. A law to prevent all manumissions by will or deed, to take effect in future.

On motion of Judge Chambers, this proposition was laid on the table for the present.

Resolved, 2d. To prevent manumissions, except upon condition of instant transportation to some place out of the United States, and that at the expense of the manumittee.

Judge Chambers.—The object of Legislation had been to prevent, by judicious enactments, the increase of the free coloured population; but such had not been the result. Proposals had been made to the free coloured people, at considerable expense, but through the influence of some unfortunate and misguided men, who were perfectly wild in their conclusions, they had failed to avail themselves thereof. It now became their duty to take such steps as would strengthen their inducements to leave the country.

Mr. Alexander was prepared to debate the second resolution, with the first or without. But he thought the connection between the two was such that they should be debated together.

The Convention decided on considering the second resolution.

Mr. Alexander objected to the resolution. He thought that any person should have the right to manumit a servant or servants, by either deed or will. Public opinion would be against any such law, and if so, it could not be enacted. He submitted the following as a substitute. 'That it is not expedient to place any restraint on manumission as now regulated by law,' &c. &c.

Mr. Pitts moved to take up the first resolution of the committee, which had been passed over, and to adopt the substitute offered by Mr. Alexander, as a substitute for both.

Mr. Alexander withdrew his proposition.

Mr. Duckett had come here with the hope of being a listener throughout, and not a speaker; but if this measure was to be defeated without discussion, they might as well go home at once.

Dr. Claude thought the gentleman laboured under a mistake, as the question had been already decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Duckett.—Then, sir, if that is the case I certainly do not want to speak.

The speaker informed Mr. Duckett that he was in order, and he accordingly proceeded.

Mr. Duckett viewed the free negroes in this state as a great evil, not only to the slave-holder, but to the slave, and every other class of the community. He was in favour of their removal, but at the same time was not disposed to impose them upon the neighbouring states, but to land them comfortably on a foreign shore. You never can amalgamate, and separation or annihilation must ensue. But he was for mild, but at the same time effectual means for carrying out this purpose; he would do nothing to wrong a fellow-being; would do nothing, or consent to nothing which his conscience would not approve, and which would not bear the scrutiny of that Great Being who would judge all men equally. He was decidedly opposed to emancipation, unless the party emancipating would furnish full and ample means to carry the emancipated, not only from this state, but from the United States.

Mr. Alexander thought that it would be hard if he had in his possession one, two, or three negro boys, whom for any reason known to himself, he was disposed to emancipate, and if the proposition offered was carried, he could not manumit them to be free at a certain age, at which he might think them able to take care of themselves; by the provision of this resolution, he could not carry his object into effect, as he could not manumit them to

become free hereafter; and if suddenly taken ill he could not manumit them by will; thus he would be entirely unable to part with his property, of this description, whilst he could part with any other kind which he might hold. He could not, therefore, consent that this feature was correct.

Mr. Spence, of Baltimore.—If he mistook not, they had assembled here for the purpose of doing something calculated to protect the slave-holding interest, and for that purpose had resolved themselves into a Convention; and he thought with the gentleman from Annapolis, that the restraining the right of manumission would have the effect of creating against this Convention the popular feeling: he had observed that when laws of great or unusual severity were enacted, they became nugatory, and were of non-effect; there were now some fifty or sixty laws on the statute books of the state which, if enforced, would have done away with the necessity of holding this Convention. Some years since, there were but two classes in this state, the whites and slaves; since then, a third class had sprung up—the free negroes—and within the last ten years they had increased in a tremendous ratio. He had resided all his life in the city of Baltimore, and knew the condition in which the free negroes of that city lived—preying upon the community at large, infecting the slaves with bad doctrines, and a nuisance to the city of Baltimore. He hoped the resolution would be adopted, and if any negroes were hereafter manumitted, they would at once be conveyed beyond the bounds of the state, and not left here to disseminate abolition papers among the slaves.

Mr. Thomas F. Bowie was opposed to manumission in any form whatever. The law of 1831 provided for the removal of manumitted negroes, and even made it the duty of the sheriff of each county to enforce the removal of those who would not leave voluntarily; yet no one instance had ever occurred, where such law had been put in force, although its condition had been frequently violated, and although the directors and board of the Colonization Society were especially charged with this matter, yet they had only been the recipients of those who emigrated of their own will, and have never sought out those who did not wish to leave the state. This was the first slave-holders Convention which had been called in this country, the necessity for which had originated in the evils produced by the abolitionists of the north; and one of those very men had had the audacity to present himself in this Convention for the purpose of taking notes of their proceedings. He proposed, as a substitute, 'That the Legislature be requested to enact a law prohibiting emancipation, either by last will or deed.'

The question was then upon the substitute. Determined in the negative—yeas 21, nays 62. The question then recurred upon the adoption of the second resolution, as reported by the committee. Decided in the affirmative.

The third resolution then came up for consideration, 'to prevent any free negro once leaving the state ever to return to it, unless leaving here as the servant of a white resident of the state, and returns with him as such, and such resident having filed with the clerk of the county a declaration of his intention of taking such free negro with him.'

Mr. Pitts moved to amend said resolution, by adding thereto the words, 'unless detained by sickness, to be vouched by his physician and employer.'

Mr. Walter W. W. Bowie was opposed to the adoption of the amendment; when a free negro left his neighbourhood, he wished to shake hands with him forever; let him go to Africa or to the devil; if they did not go forever, he did not wish them to go at all. A storm was now collecting on every hill and mountain of the North, and would soon be pouring down like an avalanche, and would call for the exertion of every nerve of every Marylander to breast it. He thought it strange that when he endeavoured

to be most solemn and most serious, that gentlemen would laugh; however, he thought it best to laugh and grow fat, rather than to cry and grow lean; he did not go in for crymongers any how. He was, however, opposed to permitting a free negro to leave this State, in the employ even of a white residenter, with the privilege of returning; he might feign sickness—say that he had the cholera, or was too unwell to travel even in the rail road cars; and yet, after procuring the certificate of his physician, might return hence with lots of abolition papers to distribute; he was opposed to allowing any such privileges when he parted with them; he wished it to be for an eternity, and he wanted to see how far gentlemen were disposed to go with him. For ten years past the Colonization Society had been receiving from the State, \$10,000 per annum, and in the meantime had colonized in Africa 500 coloured persons. The Colonization Society had said that give them \$10,000 per annum, and they would remove the free coloured population. But had it been so? He would appeal to gentlemen, if on the contrary, during the ten years past, they had not actually increased about 30,000, (and they were equal to the Berkshires, in that particular) and he wanted any mathematician on that floor, to tell him how long it would take to remove them, at the same ratio, and if the white population decreased, in proportion as they had during the same period, he wanted to know how matters and things would stand in 100 years? And to this reflection he wished to call the attention of the Convention. Some of their children might then be living, if indeed there was any space left for them unoccupied by the free negro race. Gentlemen may smile, but we are now at the end of the log, and have either to make the other class go back or we may jump off ourselves. Let this matter rest longer, and when we say to them 'do you go back,' the reply will be 'we will not go back, but will not push you much further.' Gentlemen had said that a crisis had arrived, and so he said also, but he now wanted to see if gentlemen were prepared to meet that crisis, and would toe the mark. He moved to amend the resolution by striking out all after the word 'it.'

The motion to amend was withdrawn.

Mr. Glenn, of Baltimore city, moved to amend the resolution by adding thereto the words 'or any persons visiting any of the colonies of Maryland on the coast of Africa.'

Mr. Thomas F. Bowie, of Prince George's, hoped that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Baltimore city, would not be adopted. If free negroes were permitted to go to Liberia and return here and were dissatisfied with the place, 'no matter from what cause,' one word from such negroes would have greater influence on such persons than any other representation which could be made. An instance has been stated to him of 17 persons who were prepared for emigration, but in consequence of the statements of a dissatisfied free negro who had just returned from Liberia, declined going, and who still remained in Calvert county.

Mr. Palmer, of Queen Anne, was himself opposed to slavery in the abstract, but he did not consider it as opposed either to the laws of God or man. He certainly found nothing in Holy Writ to repudiate it even among the Patriarchs, and it certainly could not be against the laws of man until the legislature had repealed it. He had been raised in the North, and was therefore endowed with some of the Northern feelings, but he had resided long enough in a slave-holding community to be well aware of the disastrous effects resulting from the association existing between the free negroes and the slaves, and knew that some decisive action was necessary for the protection of the slave-holder.

Judge Chambers did not think that the Colonization Society had any connection with this Convention. He thought, however, that many per-

sons took part with the slave-holding interest from the very fact of provision having been made for those who would emigrate; close this safety-valve, and you lose at once the aid which you receive from this very fact. He had himself known but one instance, and he believed it was the only instance which had occurred, of a dissatisfied return to this country, (and he presumed that it was the case alluded to by Mr. Bowie) which was that of a man who was so utterly worthless, and conducted himself so badly that he could not remain there comfortably, and was therefore glad to get back here, where he was at once made a hero of by those who wished ill to the cause of colonization.

Mr. W. W. W. Bowie had not intended to make any charges against the Colonization Society; he knew that better and more upright men never existed than those who originated that system, and they had a laudable end in view; but it was apparent to every gentleman that it had failed in the object of its creation. The learned gentleman who had last addressed the Convention, had stated that he was a friend to the Colonization Society. Now he would very frankly state that although not an enemy to said society, he most certainly was not a friend of it. He believed that it had caused all the evils, to mitigate or do away with which, this Convention was called together. One thing was certain, the annual appropriation on the part of the State had been annually paid over, and yet where were the fruits of it? \$100,000 gone, and for what? To transport 500 coloured persons to Africa—an expense of \$200 for each individual. Self-preservation was the first law of nature, and as, from the remarks which he had advanced, it was evident that one of the two parties would have to go to the wall, he was not disposed to give way himself; he possessed a heart bold enough to sustain whatever his mind might generate or his lips give utterance to.

Mr. Gantt called the gentleman to order.

Mr. Bowie informed the gentleman that if he had kept quiet for a minute, he should have concluded.

The chair decided the gentleman to be out of order. Decision appealed from and sustained.

The amendment offered by Mr. Glenn was adopted.

Resolution No. 3 was then put upon its passage, and decided in the affirmative.

Gov. Howard would occupy the attention of the convention for a few moments prior to the reading of the 4th resolution. Some gentlemen appeared to mistake their position on this floor, and to imagine themselves as sitting here in a legislative capacity, whereas they were here in Convention as slave-holders, to recommend to the legislature certain measures for the protection of their own immediate interests. He thought it best to adopt all the resolutions reported by the committee, and let them go as they were to the consideration of the Legislature, when he would guarantee that the chairman of the committee on Coloured Population would pay all due deference to any suggestions which might be made to him.

This proposition was withdrawn, and the resolutions having been all read, the Convention (10 o'clock) adjourned to meet to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 4 o'clock.

Propositions recommended by the Convention to the consideration of the Legislature.

Proposition 1st. A law to prevent all manumissions by last will. Also, by deed, to take effect *in futuro*.

Prop. 2d. To prevent manumissions except upon condition of instant

transportation to some place out of the United States, and that at the expense of the manumittor.

Prop. 3d. To prevent any free negro leaving the State ever to return to it, unless he leaves as a servant of a white resident of the State, and returns with him; and such resident shall first file a declaration in the county clerk's office, of his intention to take such servant with him; or unless he shall leave the State for the purpose of visiting some one or other of the American colonies on the coast of Africa.

The 1st proposition was laid over for consideration, and the 2d and 3d adopted on Thursday evening.

FRIDAY MORNING, 14th inst.

The Convention met at 10 o'clock and proceeded to business.

Prop. 4th. To prevent all free negroes from coming into the State, except as servants of persons travelling in or through the State. Adopted.

Prop. 5th. To prevent the transportation of any free negro by rail roads, steamboats or other common carriers, out of the State, unless vouched for as free by some person known to the conductor of the rail road or captain of the steamboat; and no rail road or steamboat company shall be liable for refusing to transport any free negro unless he be vouched for as above; and any person falsely vouching for the freedom of a slave, to be liable to punishment. The company still to be liable for conveying away a slave as heretofore. Adopted.

Prop. 6th. To offer a high reward, to be paid by the State, for the arrest and conviction of any person who aids a slave to run away, or induces or attempts to induce a slave to run away. Adopted.

Prop. 7. That the owner of a runaway slave shall pay a reward for the apprehension of such slave; to be graduated by the distance from home where he may be caught. Adopted.

Prop. 9th. So much of the act of 1831 as allows a manumitted negro (with a certificate,) to remain in this State, to be repealed. Adopted.

Prop. 10th. No free negro to have in his possession a gun, pistol, sword or other offensive weapon. Adopted.

Prop. 11th. That the Judges of the County Courts and City Court of Baltimore, appoint bailiffs monthly, to attend the arrival and departure of every rail road car and steamboat, or other public vehicle of transportation, to carry these laws into effect; to compensate them by a portion of the penalty imposed. Adopted.

Prop. 12th. That all free negroes shall be compelled to register themselves on or before the 15th July next, and every twelve months thereafter, in the office of the clerk of the county, when they shall surrender their old certificates, and the clerk upon request, and being satisfied that any free negro thus registered desires to remove from the county either temporarily or permanently, shall furnish him or her with a certificate of registration; and if said negro shall remove permanently, he shall file said certificate within ten days after his arrival in the county to which he may remove, and if his absence shall be temporary, he shall return said certificate to the clerk from whom received, within five days after his return; and no certificate of freedom of an older date shall be good, and the clerk shall annually publish a list of those registered in some convenient newspaper, and send a printed copy to the Secretary of State. Adopted.

Prop. 13th. That the State pay the expense of any case which may arise in any State where the State law may conflict with the act of Congress of 1793, to test the constitutionality of such law. Adopted.

Prop. 14th. To make void all sales or gifts hereafter to be made of slaves

to free negroes or mulattoes; the slave so sold or given to be liable to be sold out of the State, and the master so selling punishable by fine in the discretion of the court. Adopted.

Prop. 15. That an additional provision be made to the act of 1835, chapter 325, to make it prima facie evidence of circulating such papers as are mentioned in the act of 1835, chapter 325; that the same have been found in the possession of any one within the State. Adopted.

Prop. 16th. That every free negro shall give responsible security annually for his or her good behaviour; if such security be not given, such negro so failing, to be brought before some Justice of the Peace by a constable or any other person, who shall cause him to be hired out, and out of his accruing wages pay the constable or person \$10; and in case such negro thus hired out shall abscond from service, upon his apprehension he shall be sold out of the State. Adopted.

Prop. 17th. An act to render penal the omissions of sheriffs, magistrates or constables to enforce all laws respecting free negroes and slaves, and every constable, before he proceeds to act as such, shall take an oath well and faithfully to execute all the laws of the State. Adopted.

Prop. 18th. Free negroes with real estate to have it sold at their death, and the proceeds to be distributed to their legal representatives; and hereafter no free negro to be allowed to hold real estate or leasehold interest which shall have longer than a year to run. Adopted.

Convention adjourned until 4 o'clock.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, 4 o'clock.

Prop. 19th. That all free negroes who shall have been bound out within the last two years, shall be free whenever they shall determine to leave the State, by paying to the master such sum as the Orphan's Court shall adjudge; and that it shall be the duty of the Orphan's Court of the several counties in the state, and city of Baltimore, from and after the 1st of January, 1844, to bind out at the age of 8 years, the children of all free negroes then in the State, to serve until they arrive at the age of 21 years for males and 18 for females; the master shall give security, to be approved by the Orphan's Court, to pay to the child, when it arrives at the respective years of 21 or 18, the sum of \$75 for males and \$25 for females, provided the said child shall leave the State; or if, previous to the child's arriving at the age of 21 or 18 years, as the case may be, it shall consent to leave the State, or its parent shall remove out of the State, then the master shall give up such child, and if it has served more than 8 years, the master shall pay to the child or its parent, such sum as the Orphans' Court shall determine.

Mr. Thomas S. Alexander offered the following as a substitute:

That the law of apprentices shall be so altered that the children of all free negroes and mulattoes who have no visible and certain means of subsistence, should be bound out, &c., to serve until a certain age, &c.

Mr. Alexander, of Annapolis, thought that many free coloured persons were equally competent to bring up their children as many of the whites were, and that such persons having the means of bringing their children up as they should be, ought to have the charge of their children. But he acknowledged, in the present state of society, the right of the white population to see that the children of those free negroes who could not take care of their children, should be bound out.

Mr. Palmer, of Frederick, thought that the adopting of the amendment of the gentleman from Annapolis, would be little else than the re-enacting of a law already in force. The object of this Convention was not to drive the free negroes from the State, or even to deprive them of their liberties;

it was common for white children to be bound out until they were twenty-one years of age, and he thought that the best course which could be pursued in regard to the negro children, would be to bind them out to good masters, who would clothe and feed them comfortably, and raise them to habits of industry, and not leave them to be raised in idleness and vice, in those receptacles of sin and vice, the houses of free negroes. He knew what places such houses were in cities; as to the country he did not know any thing of them. He, therefore, should certainly vote for the original proposition, and hoped that the substitute would not be adopted.

Mr. Alexander thought that the bonds of affection were as strong between parent and child among the negro race as the whites; and he thought that gentlemen had better drive the free negroes out of the State at once, than thus endeavour to drive them from us indirectly through their affections. He only asked for the better portion of the free negro population of this State, that they should remain here unmolested in their affections whilst they conducted themselves properly; to such he was for extending the protection of the laws. He wished to know if they had any more right over the negroes who were now under the age of twenty-one years, than they had over those whose age exceeded that number of years. The negro who, in 1841, will be over twenty-one years of age, will go scot free, and his contumacy is to go unpunished, whilst the young and tender child, who, from regard to its parents, may not be enabled to flee, is to be seized by the arm of the law and passed over to the hands of those whoever might be enabled to make most profit on it. He asked gentlemen if that was justice.

The question was then taken on the adoption of the amendment offered by Mr. Alexander, which was decided in the negative.

The question then recurred upon the resolution as reported by the committee.

Mr. Glenn moved to strike out the year 1844, and insert 1845.

Dr. Claude moved to strike out '44 and insert '48—he was of opinion that humanity demanded a prolongation of the time, and he thought the end could be as well answered in that period as if it was enforced earlier.

Mr. Tilghman proposed to insert 1843—he thought the sooner it went into operation the better. Amendments rejected.

The question was then taken on the proposition, and it was carried.

Prop. 20th. That no meeting of free negroes for any purpose shall be permitted after sunset, and all laws inconsistent with this provision to be repealed. Carried.

Prop. 21st. That if any free negro who may have a license from any christian denomination, either to preach or exhort, shall hold or attend any meeting prohibited by law, he shall be subject for the first offence to a fine and imprisonment, and for the second offence, shall be sold out of the State.

Prop. 22d. Any retail dealer who shall sell or give to any negro, slave or free, any spirituous liquor or wine, or shall otherwise directly or indirectly, furnish intoxicating drink to or for a negro, to be liable to a fine of \$100, one-half to be paid to the informer. (Any person who shall sell or give liquor to a negro slave or free, except the master of such negro slave, to be liable to the same penalty.)

Mr. Alexander moved to amend said resolution by inserting after the word master, the words, 'or physician.' Adopted.

The word mistress was also inserted.

Mr. Duckett thought they were travelling beyond public opinion in adopting any such proposition. He was willing to go as far as any one in imposing penalties on the retail dealers, to prevent them from selling liquor to the negroes; he was not afraid of their giving the negro too much liquor.

He did not believe it right that he should be liable to a penalty of one hundred dollars for giving to his neighbour's servant a dram on a rainy day, after he had rode to his house with a letter from the master of such negro. Or if a gentleman employed a negro to run an errand and thought proper to give him a glass of grog, he thought it a perfect absurdity to recommend legislation against it.

Mr. W. W. W. Bowie, of Prince George's—he thought that his friend was wrong in regard to the dealers; he thought that they could give liquor to great advantage; they could give, give, for a year, and then be better off than at the commencement. He did not know how it was, unless it was like the bread cast upon the waters, which we were told of in the Scriptures, that returned after a while; thrown out a single loaf, it returned a double one. He had been surprised how this magnanimous race of beings (the retail dealers) managed to grow so rich, whilst they were giving away with the right hand, unless the left hand was pointed with, in an ominous manner, at a little sign of *give*. Give what? why, give me tobacco, corn, wool, or any thing else you can get hold of honestly, or—dishonestly, from their masters or any one else they could steal from. And he wished to know how they could prevent the negroes from getting liquor; he knew, and he expected that every person on this floor knew, gentlemen who would as willingly give an order to their hired servant to go to a country store to get liquor as to pay them in hard silver; ay, and he guessed much rather, when they would have to pay a premium for the specie. And how could the farmer get their wheat cut without the whiskey; gentlemen had tried molasses and coffee—hot coffee and cold coffee—but it would not cut the wheat. Even as a gentleman this morning had said, they had given them vinegar with their cabbage; but even that would not cut the wheat—it must be the real whiskey itself—the tinkling of the gill cup was sweet music to the ear, and whilst the wheat-fields of the disseminator of hot coffee and molasses continued to groan under the weight of wheat already too ripe, his neighbor, who administered the grog, could have his wheat cut and thrashed, whilst the first person could not get any other assistance than his own hands. As for himself, he would not give a copper for a man that would not give a fellow a glass of grog if he wanted it.

He moved to strike out the whole of the second clause. Decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Duckett moved to strike out the word 'free.' He was in favour of granting to the free negro the privilege of purchasing liquor whilst he remained here.

Mr. Tilghman, of Talbot, hoped that the amendment would not be carried, as by that means the very object which was wished to be attained, namely, 'the keeping of the slaves from the use of intoxicating drinks,' would be defeated, as the free negroes would become their agents and purchase for them. The amendment was rejected.

Mr. Tilghman moved to insert the words, 'or the agent of any negro, slave, or free.' Adopted.

The question then recurred on the adoption of the resolution as amended, and it was carried in the affirmative.

It was then moved by W. W. W. Bowie, to re-consider the 5th proposition which had been adopted, and which recommended the re-enactment of the law of 1825, chap. 90, when a substitute was offered by Mr. Pitts, of Baltimore city, providing that 'all free negroes convicted of offences punishable with confinement in the penitentiary should be sold out of the State as slaves for life,' &c.; also some of the smaller offences or misdemeanors.

Mr. Pitts advocated this measure as an excellent mode of getting clear of

the free negro population, and that so far from being a loss to the State, it would send money into the coffers of the State. He also advocated it, as whilst the most effectual mode of getting clear of them, it also afforded the convicted negro a more comfortable home than he had here. The convicted negroes commanded a more ready sale in Baltimore than any other commodity which could be placed in the market.

Mr. Thos. F. Bowie was under the impression that the laws of all the States south of Maryland precluded the importation of convicted negroes, at least he had conversed with gentlemen from the southern States, from whom he had derived such information; and he thought that to pass a law such as that recommended in the substitute offered by the gentleman from Baltimore, was legislating in the very face of the laws of the southern States.

Judge Chambers was aware that free negroes had been frequently sold out of the State, and was not aware of any laws prohibiting their being taken to the extreme southern States.

Mr. Pitts knew that negroes had been sold at the Court-house door, and had brought good prices; where negroes were sold from the State for life, they would average a nett sum of \$400 or \$500; whereas, if confined in the penitentiary, their labour would not more than pay for the expense of keeping them. There were always men ready to buy them, such as Purvis, Slatter, and others, and these men would not buy them unless they could profit by it; and if they had the profit, and there was any penalty imposed by other States for the bringing of convicted negroes to those States, why, upon them would fall the risk, as it should, for with them would be the profit.

Mr. Richardson had hoped to have been throughout the Convention, a silent listener; he had not troubled the Convention in any point which had arisen, but he felt himself bound to raise his voice against the substitute offered by the gentleman from Baltimore, (Mr. Pitts.) It was unjust and illiberal. Would gentlemen consent merely because they have the power to do so, to consign a fellow-being, who was born free, to slavery, through all time, for an offence such as his learned friend had suggested; for a petty crime, for a riot, that most undefinable of all crimes, to constitute which, three persons walking together in the street with bludgeons in their hands, is sufficient? What, sir, would my friend for such an act as that, for walking the streets with a bludgeon, condemn a fellow-being to lasting slavery? If such was his view of the matter, he hoped that no one there would coincide in his views. For the keeping of a disorderly house, the punishment of which, if it exceeds the fine of ten dollars and imprisonment of a month, the gentleman considers it quite a hard sentence on his client, and yet, for this same offence, we are called on to recommend the penalty of slavery for life—dooming a fellow-creature to slavery from which there is no redemption; no matter what change may take place in his morals; no matter how much reformed; for one little offence the clanging of his fetters are to be heard forever. And the gentleman would wish to make the State of Maryland a dealer in negroes; a barterer of human flesh—away with the idea.

Mr. Pitts did not think that there could any change be wrought in such persons as would be likely to come under the operations of the law, he would wish suggested. Those who would be affected by a law of this kind, had generally passed their life in vice, and could not, therefore, be weaned from vice to virtue. There was not the remotest prospect of their reformation. His learned friend had appealed in his usual, able, and eloquent style, to their sympathies. He doubted not that their sympathies were strongly aroused for the unfortunate race of beings who were then under consideration. But he called on gentlemen to lay aside their sympathies and listen to the dictates of reason. It was true, that the negro would

go into slavery for life; but would he not be better off than when left to the vicissitudes to which the free negro was exposed. It was notorious, that negroes in the south were well taken care of, and even the moral condition of the convicted negro, sold into slavery, would be bettered, if any thing could better it at all. For he would then be separated from his old associates; he would no longer have the same inducements for pursuing vice, and turned out to work with the gang, would soon become as good as any of them. He hoped that his substitute would be adopted.

The vote was taken on the adoption of the substitute, and it was rejected.

Mr. Richardson offered the following:

That it shall be recommended to the General Assembly of Maryland, that they pass a law directing the Courts of Justice of this State, that whenever any free black shall be convicted of any offence, the punishment of which, by the law, as it now stands, is confinement in the penitentiary, that it shall be the duty of the Court to order the convicted party to be sold out of the State for the period that they in their discretion might confine him in the penitentiary; and that if any free person or persons of colour be convicted of any misdemeanor or misdemeanors, other than those which now subject the convicted party to confinement in the penitentiary, that then the convicted party shall be punished by sale or banishment, in the discretion of the Court, out of the State of Maryland, for a period not less than six months or more than — years.

Col. Wooten moved to strike out the word 'banishment.'

Mr. Duckett thought it should not be stricken out; that it was as the proposition now stood left to the discretion of the Court, and unless the offence was highly aggravated, he thought the banishment sufficient.

The motion to strike out, was not carried.

Mr. Johnson of Annapolis moved the following as an amendment:

'With the provision that after the period of banishment or sale has expired, the said negroes shall not be permitted to return to this State, and that in case of doing so, such negroes shall be liable to be sold as slaves for life beyond the limits of the State.' Adopted.

Mr. Duckett moved to strike out the words by 'sale or.' He thought banishment from the State sufficient punishment for petty offences—and the negroes thought so also, as they proved by remaining here.

Mr. W. W. W. Bowie would remind the gentleman of the lean state of the treasury; he went in for sale.

The motion was not carried.

The question being put on the adoption of the substitute, as offered by Mr. Richardson and amended, the substitute was adopted.

Mr. Carroll Spence, of Baltimore city, offered a recommendation to the Legislature, which he withdrew at the suggestion of Judge Chambers, when the Convention proceeded to consider the first proposition reported by the Convention, viz: the passage of a law to prevent all manumission by last will or by deed, to take effect *in futuro*.

Mr. Alexander, of Annapolis, offered the following as a substitute:

'That it is inexpedient to place any further restraint than heretofore recommended on manumissions.'

Mr. Palmer thought that the shortest way to get at this matter, would be to reject the original proposition, as reported by the committee.

Mr. Alexander preferred having his own proposition voted on. It was negatived.

Judge Chambers then proposed that the words after 1st January, 1844, be inserted.

Mr. Duckett, of P. G., could not see how a law which would be wrong in 1842, could be right in 1844. He could not understand upon what

rational principle it was, that they were recommended to carry out two years from this time, what they could not do now. He thought the 2d proposition reported by the committee, and which had been assented to by the Convention, was sufficiently strong; it was as strong as he was disposed to go at any rate. As it now stood, manumission could not take place, unless the party manumitting provided for the removal of the manumitted slaves beyond the United States.

Mr. W. W. W. Bowie arose with great diffidence to address the Convention again. This was the greatest question which had yet agitated this Convention. Many questions of interest had been acted upon; but this was one of vital importance, and involved constitutional right. He was last night disposed to go as far, or perhaps farther, than any gentleman on the floor. There were persons about who were abolitionists. He did not mean such abject wretches as those who were only fit to clean the dirt from the gallows's steps for the meanest wretch who ever ascended them to be hung—such a being as was this day brought before a judicial tribunal; not such lean Yankees, whittled to a mere point, who could not stand the gaze of a noble Southerner; there would be nothing left but a grease spot where he last stood. He thought that he could put that Convention in a way of doing business if he could only effect one thing, that was, if he could only get rid of the members of the legislature who were around him, he could tell the Convention how to manage them. But he was afraid to give any hint before them; and why? Why, because if they were to get an inkling of what he was about, they having to legislate on this matter again, would knock it all in the head. Now, sir, says he, if I could only send the Sargeant-at-Arms to put these members out, as you did the poor abolitionist yesterday. I would go ahead. However, here goes.

We will take it for granted that this resolution is acceded to, and a law passed corresponding in conformity to it—to take effect in 1844. Well, some good old lady drawing near her latter end, sends for a lawyer to make her will. Down comes the lawyer, twisting and flirting his pen and parchment. He sits down to write the old lady's last will and testament, and presently she goes on to name some of her negroes to be free at such a time. But you cannot do it, says the lawyer. Why not? says the old lady. Because, ma'am, there was a Convention some time since that recommended the legislature to put a stop to it. Yes, says the old lady, but that was two or three years ago. Ah! but the time has just come. Well, then, the old lady cannot manumit her servants, and she has nothing to do but get well again, disappoint her would-be executor, and get clear of her darkies by deed. Some of the members that passed the law have passed to the other house, some have passed to the other world, and some gone somewhere else.

Mr. Glenn, of Baltimore city, made a few remarks, and the vote was taken on the amendment proposed by Judge Chambers. Amendment rejected.

The vote then recurred on the original resolution, which was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Alexander called for the yeas and nays, but withdrew the call.

Mr. Duckett then renewed the call for the yeas and nays, but was not sustained.

Carroll Spence, Esq., of Baltimore city, then made the following proposition, which was unanimously carried:

That it be recommended to the legislature 'to repeal the provisions of the act of 1827, chapter 15, as far as is inconsistent with this provision.

Any person or persons who shall persuade or entice, aid or assist a slave to run away from his master, owner, or employer; and any person or per-

sons who shall harbor or conceal a slave or slaves, knowing him or them to be runaways; and the fact of his or their being on the premises, owned, rented, or occupied by a free negro or negroes, to be prima facie evidence of such knowledge, shall be liable to be indicted, and upon conviction shall, if white, undergo a confinement in the penitentiary for a period not less than — years; and if such person shall be a free negro, and convicted of this offence, he shall be sold out of the State, and the whole of the proceeds of such sale to go to the informer, who shall be a competent witness in an action against such negro or negroes; and if such negro be a slave for life, or a term of years, he shall upon conviction be sold out of the State, and his full value paid to the owner.

Judge Chambers moved that the President appoint a committee of five members of the Convention to prepare a memorial to the legislature, on the subject of the proposition adopted by Convention. At the same time, Judge Chambers stated that he could not possibly serve on the committee.

The committee appointed, was as follows: Gen. Benjamin C. Howard, Charles H. Pitts, Joseph M. Palmer, Tench Tilghman, Philip F. Thomas.

Mr. Gaither offered a resolution, proposing that each member of the Convention pay 25 cents, to be divided between the door-keeper of the House of Delegates and door-keeper of the Court-house.

Judge Chambers presented a resolution that when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. Hanson proposed to recommend to the legislature, to impose a license of — dollars on hawkers and pedlars to trade as such.

The proposition was adopted.

Mr. Palmer moved to fill the blank with the sum of \$200.

He thought that the hawkers and pedlars created a great quantity of mischief, that they would cheat every person who dealt with them, and they should pay well for their license.

The proposition to fill the blank with \$200 was accepted.

Mr. Spence, of Baltimore, presented the following proposition:

To recommend the repeal of that part of the 2d section of the act of 1833, chap. 224, entitled an act relating to persons of colour, who are to be free after a term of years, which says, 'That the party applying for such grant has distinctly and particularly notified such servants of the existence and effect of this law, and that this information has failed to correct his or her habits before they proceed to issue any such grant for the purpose.'

Proposition adopted.


Mr. Tilghman, of Kent, proposed a resolution that it be recommended to the legislature to enact a law, regulating the holidays of negroes, &c.

He stated that at the commencement of the Convention, he had heard something said about the adoption of some general rules towards the domestic arrangements of the slave-holders, and in view of that offered this recommendation. It was negatived.

Jno. S. Sellman offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, unanimously, that the thanks of the members of this Convention be tendered to the President and officers thereof, for the impartiality, promptitude, and ability, with which they have presided over its deliberations.

Mr. Bowie responded in suitable terms, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

 All communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal, or on business of the Society, should be addressed to DR. JAMES HALL, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.

